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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

Melanesia: Ethnology. With Plate A. **Groves.**

Shark Fishing in New Ireland.[1] *By W. C. Groves, B.A., Dip.Ed., Research Fellow, Australian National Research Council.*

The warm tropic waters of certain of the islands of the Western Pacific are the natural home of the shark, and the reaction of the natives to these monsters of the deep is quite different from that of us Europeans. While we feel a sense of repugnance at their presence in our neighbourhood, the natives generally show no fear of the beasts, looking upon them just as they do upon all fish—simply as good food, and therefore worth the catching. And just as the natives have a highly developed technique in the catching of various types of fish, so they have their own effective methods of capturing sharks.

I had my first experience of shark fishing at the village of Fisoa in New Ireland. Some of the older men of that place were quite famous in the region as shark catchers. This was not due so much to their own personal prowess as to the efficacy of the inherited magical spells they used, and their undeviating adherence to the traditional rules and prohibitions. As you may imagine, such a risky and important food-getting venture as shark fishing is hedged round with elaborate rites and precautions, both of a practical and magical nature. The man who goes fishing for sharks, in order to have any hope of success, must subject himself to a rigidly prescribed procedure.

However, there are elements of personal capacity in the venture, despite the value, indeed the indispensability, of inherited magic, for shark fishing demands quickness of hand and accuracy of eye. No slow thinker or slow mover could hope to pit himself against the agility and speed and sagacity of the sharks, for they are not captured by line or spear, but snared—caught by hand, in a noose operated from light outrigger canoes. Let us follow the shark-snaring routine through all its stages.

The native expert knows by certain signs on the surface of the sea—eddies, currents, driftwood, and such things—just when it is time to begin fishing. At such a time the sea is usually dead calm, and this allows the canoes to venture long distances out from the home shore. Sharks are most plentiful and savage during the calms, which occur usually around Christmas.

In snaring sharks everything depends upon the canoe. Special canoes are made, magically dedicated (if I may use that term in this special sense of being bespelled by a magician), and then set apart for the exclusive purpose of shark catching. When the canoe is finished it must be taken out on its initial trip by the magician himself, and the first catch must be made by him. This is to demonstrate the efficacy of the magic.

[1] It may be of interest to readers to know that this article is the actual script of a broadcast talk given last year by Mr. Groves.

No other man would dare go out in a new canoe until the first catch had been made by the magician, who is publicly paid for his services when he does return with the first catch. This first catch is regarded as the property of the owner of the canoe, though it is always used for a communal feast. The canoes are kept in special three-sided houses in enclosures facing the beach. In these shelters, too, all the paraphernalia of shark snaring is kept, and there is always to be found there a smouldering log, as well as some cooking stones, for the use of the men who are preparing to go out on the shark hunt. It is in these canoe houses, too, that the older men of the village, chaps who no longer go to regular daily work, spend their time gossiping, chewing betel nut, dozing, and smoking—this last on those rare occasions when there is any tobacco about.

The canoe enclosures and the strips of beach in front of them are all prohibited to women. In fact, women have no association whatever with any phase of the shark snaring enterprise—they are not even allowed any part in the cooking, and certainly none in eating the flesh.

No young married man is allowed to go shark snaring. For days before the expedition sets out certain restrictions of food and conduct must be rigidly observed by the participants. They must not walk underneath coconut trees ; must eat only taro cooked by their wives (or mothers, if they are unmarried) ; must, in fact, refrain from having any social intercourse whatever with the women of the village, for women's influence is fatal in shark snaring ; nor must they be seen in the company of certain of their relatives.

During the off season the canoes are kept slung up on the rafters of the house. At the opening of the season the leader of the proposed expedition enters the enclosure and carries out the preliminary forms or processes of magic. Then he brings together his selected crew—one or two trustworthy fellows who have already had some experience, and two or three young lads who are about to have their initial outing. These latter are usually relatives or clansmen of the leader, who will teach them the ropes on the practical side—though he may not teach them the magical rites connected with shark snaring. These lads take it all very seriously indeed. Once they enter the enclosure they must not leave it (except to go down the few yards to the beach) until they have returned from the expedition. They must eat there, sleep there—beside the canoe, actually—work there. If they do go outside and join in the ordinary pursuits of the villagers, the whole thing will be spoiled. The sharks, who are sagacious fellows, will " smell " them, and will disdain to come near such worthless fellows. While the lads are in the enclosure their leader, who is with them all the time, looks out for portents and signs that his magical spells have operated ; and when he sees these, the party may set out.

During the time of waiting the lads are busy testing ropes, caulking the craft, and generally attending to all the practical details, under the direction of the elderly leader.

A most important aid to the whole outing is the special amulet or charm that is known as " the shark ". This consists of a number of pieces of a certain vine that grows in the jungle. These are subjected to spells recited by the magician-leader, and then wrapped tightly in certain leaves to form a small packet. This " shark " charm is never absent from the canoe or the person of the magician during the whole time of the expedition. The virtue of the thing lies in the fact that sharks would veer away from any canoe that did not carry such a charm. When not in use in connection with an actual expedition, this charm is hung up on a rafter of the canoe house, and never under any circumstances interfered with by anyone except the owner-magician.

When the time is regarded as propitious, the leader informs his crew, who sleep close beside the canoe that night, to be up before the dawn and away beyond the sea-horizon before the village is astir. The canoes used, I ought to have explained, are of the dugout type, about two feet deep and one foot six inches across, with strong, light outriggers attached, and cross-pieces every few feet or so for the crew to sit upon as they pull. All of the crew use paddles except the " big fella man " leader. He sits aft, attending

to the magical rites, and keeping his eyes open. Near him is the snaring outfit, ready for immediate use.

The outfit is not really elaborate, and it is all home-made. It consists of, first, a long thin bamboo like a fishing rod, to the end of which is attached a small fish, usually a mullet ; next a number of half coconut shells strung on a double hoop of cane. When these shells are moved violently up and down through the water, they make a noise that resembles that of flocks of frigate birds. The idea is this : that when the frigate birds are hovering over any particular part of the sea there will be a shoal of fish about, near the surface ; where there is a shoal of fish there will also be sharks, or at any rate sharks will be hanging round. The sharks are said to be attracted by the noise of the excited fluttering of the birds' wings. The purpose of the shells, then, in reproducing the noise of the birds, is to attract the sharks to the canoe. The other important item of the snaring equipment is a noose of strong plaited native rope, with a slip-knot to draw the noose tight. To this noose is attached a large lightwood float, specially shaped. When the actual capture takes place, the snarer's hands are protected by this float, and do not come in contact with the shark's body or its mouth at all. There is one other piece of apparatus, a large hardwood waddy (each canoe has, in fact, a number of these), shaped like a policeman's truncheon, with which the captured shark is finally beaten to death.

At a likely spot, on the calm surface of the open sea, miles from the island shore, the paddlers cease, and the little craft is allowed just to drift. The leader and his second in command now do the important work. The silver mullet is affixed to the end of the long bamboo rod and held out from the side of the canoe, the fish being just under the surface of the water. This is done by the second-in-command. At the same time the leader, sitting behind, moves the shell rattle through the water in imitation of the frigate birds. Meanwhile the canoe just drifts, there being no movement on the part of the younger men. From time to time while the monotonous waiting goes on, the leader picks up his " shark " charm and inaudibly recites his magical spell over it. It is not long before sharks appear, cruising cautiously and suspiciously round at first, until they see that the canoe is alright, because there is a " shark " in it. As soon as sharks appear, the little silver fish is made to dance in lively fashion in the water by violent movement of the rod. Tantalizingly, it dances near the surface, until, eager for this tit-bit, one of the monsters rushes in, but just a moment too late to get it. The little bait is drawn out of the water with amazing speed, just out of the reach of the shark. The shark is obviously not pleased at being thus foiled. He veers off to take stock. The rattle goes again. There must be fish about, he thinks, for there are those scavenging birds. The shark comes in again. The little fish reappears—just a solitary miserable one, almost beneath the notice of any self-respecting shark. The fish moves about playfully. The shark stands off aloof and suspicious. And the cheeky little fish continues to tantalize him with its play.

The younger natives sit tense and silent, watching the older two at their dangerous play. The leader gives up the rattling and takes hold of the noose. He stands up and leans out over the side of the canoe. Meanwhile the shark sees nothing but that tantalizing fish. He makes a headlong rush at it ; it is drawn quickly back towards the waiting snarer. The fish is lifted out of the water just as the shark reaches the spot where it was. As the shark's onrush takes him past, the snarer, waiting ready, skilfully and with great speed slips the noose over its head, drawing it tight round the body of the monster. Then the float is let go. The infuriated and terrified shark rushes madly away, draws the float under ; comes again, fighting, to the surface ; disappears again, to reappear on the surface in its frantic efforts to rid itself of that maddening attachment that draws it ever upward. Finally, defeated, it remains quiet near the surface.

Now the canoe pulls cautiously over. It is the turn of the young fellows to act. Excitedly they rise with their waddies, and beat down upon the head of the ensnared shark. The lifeless carcass is finally lifted up, released from the noose, and laid in the bottom of the dugout.

Away the canoe pulls to another likely spot. Rattles work again, and the whole performance is repeated, until it is time to return home. Beyond a few young coconuts, the natives take no food on these expeditions. And many of the great men of sharking prowess have failed to return. Statistics of every New Ireland village show that in every generation there have been men missing on sharking expeditions.

As the returning canoe approaches the home village in the evening, it announces its success by loud and long blowing upon conch shells. When they hear this, the little lads of the village come down to the beach armed with play spears, and they launch these at the fishermen as they are pulling the canoe up on the sand.

This is a sort of pleasing playful " welcome home " and congratulation to the crew, and the young snarers are very proud of this as they shyly make their way through the village.

W. C. GROVES.

Australia: Ethno-Botany. **Cleland.**

Ethno-Botany in Relation to the Central Australian Aboriginal. *By J. B. Cleland, M.D., University of Adelaide.*

The relationship between the Australian native and the plants in his environment is of very considerable interest. In the literature many references occur to the association between the two, but no exhaustive analysis of the subject has, I believe, been made. As a member of a number of short expeditions to the central parts of Australia, I have had opportunities of coming in touch with certain aspects of the subject, and have come to realize its value and interest, and have been surprised at many unexpected avenues for investigation that have been opened up.

As regards Central Australia, the following aspects of the subject require consideration :

(1) *The Plants Used as Foods.* These would include not only fruits, edible roots, seeds, green vegetables and gums, but also such substances as honey, whether stored by the native bee or sucked from racemes of *Hakea* blossoms drawn through the mouth, and the products of scale insects such as the mulga coccid.

At Mt. Liebig a method of cooking cresses by steaming was described to us. The juicy leaves of a species of *Zygophyllum* are used as the source of moisture. Stones are heated by burning sticks under them. They are then transferred to a hole in the sand and covered with a layer of *Zygophyllum*, followed by the plants to be cooked, then another layer of *Zygophyllum*, then hot stones again, the whole being finally covered with wet sand. When the sand shows a crack the natives know that the plants are sufficiently cooked.

At Macdonald Downs we were fortunate in seeing the whole process from the collection of grass seeds to the making and eating of a damper from them. At the time of our visit most of the grasses had shed their seeds. We arranged with the native women to show us how grass seeds were collected, and as we walked out on to the flood plain we wondered how they would set about operations so late in the season. Each had a coolamon, and very shortly we saw them stooping down and taking up material so that the coolamons were full in a very short time. On inspection we found that a small black ant had laboriously collected quantities of the seeds of a panic grass and arranged these around the openings of their nests. These had been scooped up in handsful by the women, who otherwise would have been unable to obtain any quantity of grain, as this had all fallen out of the heads of the grass. A hole was dug in the sand near a mulga tree. Into this the mixed grain was poured, and a woman stamped upon it with her feet, holding on meanwhile to the trunk of the mulga tree. In this way the grain was de-husked. It was then very skilfully yandied in a coolamon by various movements, including throwing the contents up into the air. Very shortly the grain was quite clean from husks, dust and residue. It was then pounded in the usual way on two stones,

with water added to make a pultaceous mass. This was then poured into a hole in the hot ashes, and by piling slanting burning branchlets over the top a skin was formed quickly, enabling the ashes to be arranged over the top of the damper.

(2) *Effects of Food on the Teeth.* Man's food and its accompaniments have a profound effect on his teeth. Thus there must be a sufficiency of calcium and phosphates and a correct balance of these, as well as the requisite vitamins, to enable the teeth to be properly formed originally. The excellent sets of teeth possessed by wild natives would indicate that there is no lack of these essentials in his food in infancy and childhood, and the secondary dentine laid down as the result of attrition shows that in adult life the materials for forming such are also adequate. In native and white man alike, caries of the teeth is due to the local production of acid, dissolving away the calcified enamel and dentine. The only way, it seems, in which acid can be produced in sufficient concentration to dissolve a hole in the tooth is by the action of certain bacteria on carbohydrate food. Pappy pultaceous food of this nature, as for instance white bread and cake, with their gluten content, mixed with mucoid saliva becomes adherent to the tooth, and the bacteria then multiply therein and produce acid under cover of this plaque. The food of the nomadic native rarely contains any appreciable quantity of fermentable carbohydrate comparable with that in the white man's diet. During our various expeditions to the central parts, caries has been in general rarely met with amongst wild natives, though a few examples have been seen in areas where grain foods were more available than usual. A native, however, who in his natural state has a full and perfectly sound dentition, seems almost equally liable with the white man to develop caries when the food he consumes is European, *i.e.* when it contains an appreciable amount of flour.

Another important aspect of dental pathology in the nomadic native is the wearing away of the crowns of the teeth, known as attrition. Eventually, in old people the tops of the teeth may become flush with the gums, but the concurrent laying down of secondary dentine in the pulp cavity obliterates this, so that the pulp never becomes exposed. This grinding down of the teeth is due partly to the use made of the teeth for mechanical purposes, such as chewing tendons to render them soft, shaping the end of a stick by biting, and so on. The inevitable incorporation of much grit, derived from the grinding stones, in grain food is probably, however, a more important factor, and sand is apt to get mixed more or less with all that is eaten. The tough and stringy nature of much of the food likewise helps, though this exercises also a detergent effect, setting free particles of sticky food adhering to the teeth.

(3) *Narcotics and Poisons.* The leaves of species of *Nicotiana* and of *Duboisia Hopwoodii* are chewed for narcotic purposes. The Australian species of *Nicotiana* are now under investigation in America, and probably a number of new species will shortly be described. Three species at least are chewed by the natives, namely *Nicotiana Gossei*, a large-leafed plant growing in Palm Valley near Hermannsburg and in a number of other places in the MacDonnell Ranges; *Nicotiana ingulba*, a smaller and more delicate species growing in sandy situations, the specific name given to it by Mr. Black being a native name for all the chewing tobaccos; and thirdly, a handsome glossy-leafed species, *Nicotiana excelsior*, named by Mr. J. M. Black from the Musgrave Ranges, where it seems to have a restricted distribution.

It appears that indigenous species of *Nicotiana* occur only in America, more or less grouped around Central America, and in Australia. With the exception of a doubtful species in New Guinea, other parts of the world do not seem to possess native species of *Nicotiana*. It is, therefore, of considerable interest to find that the natives of Central Australia, like the Indians of America, have independently discovered the narcotic effects of certain plants of this genus.

Another species at least of *Nicotiana* occurs in Central Australia, which the natives do not use. The leaves of the species that are used are gathered, and may be employed in a relatively fresh state or may be dried to be used later. They are rolled into a quid which, when not being chewed, is carried tucked behind the ear. To accentuate the

narcotic effect, the ash of fine twigs of *Acacia ligulata* (umbrella acacia) or of mulga is mixed with the leaf. The quid may be passed from one person to another, so that there must exist the danger of the spread of disease in this custom.

The plants usually employed for narcotic purposes in Central Australia are unquestionably species of *Nicotiana*. Information as to the employment there of *Duboisia* leaves for chewing is somewhat indefinite. There is much reason to think that in times of scarcity *Duboisia* leaves may be used as an addition to those of *Nicotiana*. Under ordinary circumstances, however, the *Duboisia* leaves are used only for placing in waterholes in order to stupefy emus.

In the north-east portion of South Australia, along the Cooper and the Diamantina, it would seem that *Duboisia* leaves in a very fragmented condition, consisting chiefly of the stalks and broken down portions of the leaves, are used as a narcotic. The *Duboisia* plants grow apparently in a restricted situation in the extreme south-west portion of Queensland, and the leaves were traded down in the old days, probably as far as the Flinders Ranges, red ochre being sent back in return. It seems likely that the species of *Nicotiana* which are suitable for chewing purposes do not exist further east than the ranges forming an extension of the eastern MacDonnells, and that consequently in the south-west of Queensland and the north-east corner of South Australia the *Duboisia* leaves have taken their place. Professor C. S. Hicks, of the University of Adelaide, has recently shown that this *Duboisia* contains a new alkaloid with properties resembling those of nicotine.

(4) *Water.* The water storing capacity of the superficial roots of certain mallees and of the needle bush (*Hakea leucoptera*) are good examples of the way man has become enabled to travel over country when the surface waters have evaporated.

(5) *Weapons and Implements.* These include a study of the various kinds of woods which may be used for making spears and boomerangs, spear-throwers, dishes, and so on, and the way in which the end product is fashioned. For instance, in making a spear from one of the branches of the witchetty bush the stem as cut, though straight in a general sense, has many little angularities which have to be straightened out. By warming the green stem in hot embers and bending and working the pliant material, with patience these angularities can be entirely eliminated. The obtaining of adhesive gum-like substances is necessary for fixing stones in the various implements. The chief source of such substances is from a species of *Triodia*, the so-called " spinifex " of the explorers. On the Diamantina it seems difficult to obtain the necessary *Triodia* gum, and there a resinous substance from the root of *Leschenaultia divaricata* is used. This substance is also used amongst the southern Arunta. By knocking off a shoulder from the trunk of a gum tree by cutting round and tapping, excellent wooden vessels can be obtained.

(6) *Adornment.* Apart from the use of green branches, etc., during various ceremonies, necklaces of the red seeds of the bean tree, *Erythrina vespertilio*, are used. Children sometimes adorn the hair by forcing the end of a small lock into the capsules of certain eucalypts. A stalked puff-ball, *Podaxon*, with a purple powder, has the glove-like cap removed, and with the base of the stem held, the club-like extremity covered with a purple powder is smeared over the cheeks and forehead.

(7) *Nomenclature.* The names given by natives to various plants and plant products should be obtained as far as possible and the plants identified. All plants used have names, and the aboriginal is very clever at differentiating between closely allied species. Different names may be applied to different parts of a plant. To those plants not made use of, descriptive appellations may be given which may be mistaken for the special name of such a plant, for instance the native word for " prickly " may be applied to a number of different species.

(8) *Effects of Man on the Vegetation.* The most important effect of the Australian native on the vegetation has undoubtedly been in the direction of fire. The modification of the Australian vegetation which enables many plants to recover after a bush fire is

probably not the direct result of the effects of fires, but rather a means of resisting periods of drought. The various kinds of witchetty grubs, the larvæ of species of beetles and moths, are delicious morsels to the aboriginal palate. They are eagerly sought for, whether in the branches of the gum tree, in the roots of the witchetty bush, or at the base of the dead stems of the native poplar (*Codonocarpus*). The constant search for these has probably exercised some control over the insects concerned, and thus man's activities have helped to preserve the vegetation concerned. Now that the natives have disappeared over such large extents of country, the ravages of these grubs go on unhindered. The most destructive factor in the southern parts of the centre of Australia is the rabbit. Vegetation is destroyed, and at times of drought the remaining shrubs tend to be ring-barked and the seedling mulgas are destroyed. The rabbit is now a staple article of diet with the natives. It is doubtful, however, whether the numbers they catch have any real effect upon the rabbit population in the shape of controlling it at all.

(9) *Ecology.* This aspect embraces all the home surroundings of man, if one follows the Greek meaning of οἶκος as a home. As the natives are nomads, and of necessity wander over considerable areas, from water to water, in search of animal and vegetable food, the home surroundings of the tribe may be very extensive and show considerable alterations in the type of country. The botanical side of this aspect is well worth detailed study. For instance, when a good season has brought about a wealth of vegetation on the sandhills, with abundance of parakeelya (*Calandrinia ballonensis* and *C. remota*), the natives can wander far away from their permanent waters. A supply of yams may result in another district, depending again on weather conditions. Unfortunately for the Australian native there seems to be no native fruit which would be likely to lend itself to cultivation, or any grass that might be used for obtaining a cultivated grain. His nomadic habits have probably been implanted in him as the result of his environment, though it is by no means certain that the aboriginal would have cultivated fruits, grains and vegetables had suitable kinds been available.

Such is a brief outline of the scheme of classification of ethno-botany we have been following up in our expeditions. Much work remains to be done, and the observations of previous investigators should be analysed and placed under their proper divisions in the study of this interesting aspect of anthropology.

J. B. CLELAND.

Polynesia: Sociology. **Ramsden.**

A Dual Personality: The Maori's Place in Modern Society. *By Eric Ramsden.*

Despite his modern environment, the Maori of today lives very much in a world of his own. That world, it may be said at the outset, is peopled by spirits. Some of the spirits are benign in influence, others malign. The Pakeha (European) who lives beside the Maori and regards him as rather a good fellow (even if at times he is a troublesome neighbour, for the Maori is apt to let his stock stray, to forget to close gates, and cause other minor difficulties), does not know, very often, that his Polynesian brother still retains his belief in the ancient laws of *tapu*.

Neither does he know that he is mortally afraid of *makutu*, or witchcraft: that the night is so peopled with spirits that the poor Maori seldom cares to venture out alone. The Pakeha is only really interested when the social behaviour of the Maori in some way interferes with his own routine. For example, when the Maori suddenly downs tools and leaves to attend a *tangi* (wake), or travels miles to be present at a *hui*, or some similar convivial gathering. The Pakeha, more often than not, does not appreciate the fact that both are *definite social obligations*.

The modern Maori does not wear his heart on his coat's sleeve; he does not bare his soul to the passer-by. The Pakeha, living not a stone's throw away from a *kainga*, or village, may not know of the fierce hatred burning in the breasts of the old people against all things European. The Maori is always polite. You will never hear him tell a tale

to evoke sympathy. And above all, the Maori is afraid of ridicule. Like all Polynesians, he has a superb sense of the ridiculous; he can even laugh at himself. But what is innermost and sacred, naturally enough, he keeps to himself.

The Maori of today is a dual personality.

Indeed, one can say that he is hardly Maori and hardly European. He is something between the two—with the Maori invariably predominating. Of all the tribes, none are more conservative than the people I know most intimately—the Waikato. There are historical reasons, good and sufficient, for their isolation. But, by way of illustration, I shall make reference to an incident at one of their meetings not long ago. One section of these people, a confederation of tribes who gave their all for their ideals and suffer for it to this day, are definitely "die-hard", anti-Pakeha, anti-Government, anti-anything at all. The other, a more liberal section, affected by the modern trend of conciliatory thought and changing economic conditions, is led by a woman, Princess Te Puea Herangi. On that occasion the "die-hards" spurned the offer of conciliation. Te Puea, an aristocrat of determined and forceful character, a woman of constructive thought who has accomplished much in the face of formidable opposition, rose to reply.

"You say you will be Maori—not Pakeha", she said. "I, too, am Maori. But you must be consistent. Will you take away the old-age pension from your elders? Will you refuse to use the telephone? Will you decline to enter a motor car? Will you eat only of the food of our ancestors—have you teeth for the *aruhe* (fern root)? Will you eat only the *kumara* (sweet potato), the *kuku* (pigeon), the *hapuka* (fish)? . . ."

The Maori can no longer be Maori—even if he wants to. And, naturally enough, the young Maori people are as much addicted to the cinema, the racecourse, and other European diversions as our own youth. Moth-like, they, too, are attracted to the cities. I know one Maori boy of high rank who, in Sydney, prefers to be a "crooner" rather than a young *rangatira* (aristocrat) in his own land. His ancestors sold the land on which the city of Auckland now stands.

On occasions, there are reversions to type.

Every now and then the Australian newspaper reader is regaled with the exploits of some Maori "faith-healer" or "prophet". The symptoms, by no means unusual, are interesting. But, generally speaking, the facts are invariably grossly exaggerated and distorted; more often than not the whole proceeding is ridiculed by the Pakeha writer.

I have at times wondered if the average New Zealander realised the price the Maori has paid for our "civilisation". On going through one of the largest asylums in New Zealand on one occasion I was amazed at the number of Maoris there—not only Maoris, but Polynesians from other British possessions in the Pacific.

First, it must be understood that the Maori is intensely emotional, and not only emotional, but sincerely religious. It is not always easy for the European to appreciate, or understand, the attitude of the Maori towards religion. Despite what he may think in his heart, the Maori is always ready to acknowledge any religion because, it is his basic belief, there *must* be at least *some* good in all of them. There is no such thing as religious intolerance in a Maori village. Quite often he is imposed upon—by his own people as well as by ours.

The unseen, the spirit-world, is something very real to him and never very far away.

The field of social anthropology, particularly the effects of clashing of cultures, has never been really explored in New Zealand. We have been so anxious to gather the threads of knowledge from the dying fingers of the old people, that we have been tempted, I do believe, to ignore the Maori of the present day as a personality, as a human entity. Until quite recently his psychological side has been almost entirely neglected. Those of us born in the country were taught to regard the Maori as a picturesque appendage to the landscape; in us were instilled notions of our magnanimity in our treatment of him. Yet, in contact with the Maori in later life we are again and again baffled by the complexity

of his character, and on going to historical sources we find that, in our relations with him, in many instances he has shown himself our superior in conduct; and that the history of our colonisation in New Zealand contains chapter after chapter of trickery and roguery. Legal machinery has been introduced for despoiling him of his lands. What the Maori holds today is by the strength of his good right arm. He fought us for it.

True, some tribes were treated better than others, but, on the whole, the story is not a happy one.

Then there is the question of the Maori's attitude towards organised religion. In the village of Ngaruawahia the majority of the people can hardly be termed Christians. The Church of England, once supreme in that district, has never regained the ground lost when Bishop Selwyn, in the war of the sixties, associated himself with the Imperial troops.

Early in the morning one is awakened by a bell calling the people to *karakia*. Anyone, irrespective of creed, may attend. The cult is really founded on the old Hau Hau teaching, which in turn had its genesis in certain Old Testament beliefs. Later in the morning a Christian service is held by an ordained Methodist minister, and the same people attend. I have known them be present at a third Anglican service the same day, and should the Roman Catholic priest visit the settlement, he is received with the same courtesy. I have known professing Maori Roman Catholics attend the Methodist service and think it by no means unusual.

The Maori has always given an attentive ear to the old biblical teachings, and felt himself at home with the Jew. In the early thirties of last century a young Maori, instructed by a Jewish sea captain—some say he was a trader—in ventriloquism, juggling, and certain Hebraic practices (such as, for instance, the observance of Saturday as the sabbath), gained a considerable following in the Bay of Islands. The new teaching was grafted on a much older cult, called by some the Papahurihia. These people were definitely opposed to Christianity, and were known as " the followers of the Red God ". The missionaries, naturally enough, opposed the Papahurihia doctrines, and differences between the sects led to bloodshed and death.

The term " Papahurihia " was, undoubtedly, brought across the Pacific by the ancient Maoris. J. F. Stimson, the authority on the culture of the Tuamotus, told me that he came across it in that group. " The hurricane-raised foundation " is a literal translation he gave me.

The Papahurihia, as far as I am aware, was the first instance of the disastrous results of grafting certain peculiarities of Jewish belief upon Maori culture; an experiment followed in later years with even more disastrous effect. The Hau Hau cult, and its illegitimate offspring, Ringatuism, which had the much feared Te Kooti as its high priest, resulted in the loss of so many lives in the seventies. We know how the murderer, Kereopa, swallowed the eyes of poor Volkner, the missionary, in the Opotiki church, during a ceremony that was a travesty of the Christian ritual. Though Volkner died for his faith, a Jewish trader in the vicinity had his life spared—simply because he was a Jew.

The novelty of any new faith has an irresistible appeal to the Maori of today—just as it had for his ancestors a century ago. " Prophets " rise and have their day. Any new emotional experience always attracts a certain following. But my submission is that such symptoms should not be subjects for jeering or ridicule in the public Press; the Maori is a keen newspaper reader, and reacts to such uninformed, harmful, and often deliberately unkind criticism—but should be studied by some trained observer. Before the field worker today there is a vast and almost virgin field, not only in New Zealand, but among other branches of the great Polynesian family.

ERIC RAMSDEN.

Australia: Material Culture. **McCarthy.**

The Geographical Distribution Theory and Australian Material Culture.[1] *By F. D. McCarthy, Department of Anthropology, Australian Museum.*

There has appeared recently in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* a series of articles[2] on Australian material culture by Dr. D. S. Davidson, who has carried out research work in the museums of Australia and in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. This work was made possible by a Fellowship grant of the Social Science Research Council of New York.

These articles are of the greatest interest to all students of the cultural history of the Oceanic region, and form a valuable basis for further research work. Many of the problems dealt with are of a highly controversial nature, and for this reason all of the conclusions reached by Dr. Davidson will not be accepted. In his consideration of the aspects of the material culture with which he deals, Dr. Davidson has applied the Geographical Distribution or Age and Area Theory, a method of cultural analysis to which great impetus has been given in America.

" This theory ", states Dr. Davidson, " as its name implies, purports to reconstruct the historical development of a culture trait or complex by interpreting the chronological relationship between the relative geographical positions which the trait has successively occupied, or between the relative geographical distributions of the various differences which the trait has gone through in its historical development . . . The geographical distribution of the various internal changes in the trait as they succeeded each other temporarily, each having been superimposed upon its predecessor, allow for a determination of their chronological relationship . . . A distribution recorded at any one time, therefore, must be, by hypothesis, in the form of a circle, and furthermore, a series of distributions taken at different time intervals will form, for the same reason, a series of concentric circles about the point of the trait's origin. It therefore follows that if the total distribution is known at any time, the point of origin may be indicated by finding the centre of the distribution, and when a series of related traits is known in any one direction, it should be possible to determine the direction of diffusion by the relative position of the more complex to the more simple manifestations." From this statement of the aims of this theory, it is apparent that detailed and complete data, and a strict interpretation of the evidence are required for the success of this theory in the reconstruction of the historical background of culture traits.

The application of the theory to social organisation and totemic systems in Australia[3] has failed for at least two reasons. One is that the evidence used by the author was insufficient upon which to base his conclusions ; the other, which is the more important, is the author's interpretation of the data, particularly in respect to family hunting territories and the Bora type of initiation. Professor Radcliffe-Brown, in reviewing this book,[4] pointed out that initiation was only partly dealt with. The theory, as a method of analysis, fails, he says, because it is not capable of being applied to any and every other aspect of culture, and he instances spear-throwers. But it should, however, be observed that the theory does not necessarily indicate a central origin in Australia for everything in the culture, but it seeks to ascertain whether the origin of a trait is indigenous (and if so, the locality), or whether a trait has been introduced ; furthermore, if a more complex development of a trait replaces an earlier form, then this process may also be indicated.

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[1] Published by permission of the Trustees of the Australian Museum.

[2] " Australian Netting and Basketry Techniques ", *Journ. Polyn. Soc.*, XLII, 4, 1933, 257-99, figs. 1-20 ; " Australian Spear-Traits and Their Derivations ", *op. cit.*, XLIII, 2, 41-72 ; 3, 143-62, 1934, figs. 1-31 ; " The Chronology of Australian Watercraft ", *op. cit.*, XLIV, 1, 1-16 ; 2, 69-84 ; 3, 137-52 ; 4, 193-207, figs. 1-22, 1935.

[3] D. S. Davidson : " The Chronological Aspects of Certain Australian Social Institutions as Inferred from Geographical Distribution ", Philadelphia, 1928, pp. 147.

[4] *Oceania*, I, 3, 1930, 366-70.

In his paper on netting techniques, Dr. Davidson adopts the following classification : (1) Knotted netting ; (2) knotless netting : (*a*) simple loop ; (*b*) loop and twist ; (*c*) double loop and twist or hourglass. He discusses the technology of these methods and their relationships, especially with Melanesian techniques. In conclusion he states that in view of the fact that the three forms of knotless netting, the bundle coil, half-hitch (and possibly coiled bags) are not present in Torres Straits nor on the south-east coast of New Guinea, it is plausible to regard their maximum antiquity in Australia as the maximum length of time of the Melanesian occupation of these regions, since all of these traits are found in both New Guinea and Australia.

One important point brought out in this discussion is the manner in which a new technique replaces an older one, as is clearly demonstrated by the distribution and chronology of the knotless techniques. Dr. Davidson has shown that this factor is one of great importance in the study of Australian material culture.

In his article on basket making, he discusses the two methods commonly employed. Twining, he says, is the oldest and most widely distributed technique in the Pacific, for it was also employed by the Tasmanians. Coiling, the other method, is confined to eastern Australia. He is of opinion that twining must have been known before the Tasmanians became isolated from Australia, and that coiling and netting must have arrived subsequently.

In the paper on spear-traits, Dr. Davidson fully discusses the relationships of the different types of spears (single-piece and composite, multi-pronged, stingray-spine pointed, and stone-headed) and their barbs (cut in solid and detached) with each other, and with those in contiguous areas outside the continent. He arrives at the following conclusions as to their chronological stratification, that is, their invention in, or introduction into, Australia in historical sequence :

(*a*) Spear-traits derived from New Guinea (in the order given from top to bottom) :
- (1) Plain one-piece spear.
- (2) Death-spear.
- (3) Barbs cut in the solid.
- (4) Spear-thrower.
- (5) Reed-spear.
- (6) Detachable barbs (method only) and bone barbs.
- (7) Multi-pronged, and stingray-spine pointed.

(*b*) Spear-traits indigenous to Australia :
- (1) Composite wooden spear.
- (2) Composite wooden spear with tail-piece (Central Australia).
- (3) Localised types of barbs cut in the solid.
- (4) Round wooden detachable barbs.
- (5) Flat wooden detachable barbs.
- (6) Quartzite spear-heads.
- (7) Kimberley spear-heads (pressure-chipped).

" So far as Australian spear-traits are concerned ", he says, " there are fundamentally only a few basic traits, and the large number of varieties of spears represent, for the most part, only the different combinations and the varying proportions of these fundamentals. The spear contributions of the Australians, with a few important exceptions, are no more than modifications and recombinations of spear-traits which came to them from other peoples ".

Certain points of Dr. Davidson's reconstruction, however, are open to criticism.

One important point that he has not taken into consideration is that there may have been more than one migration of Australians into the continent. We are attempting by culture analyses such as the present one to ascertain the basic culture of the aborigines who first came to Australia. If later groups arrived and brought new traits with them, is it correct to say that these latter traits were introduced from New Guinea (assuming

that this was the route of migration)? They may have been brought from Asia via New Guinea long before the Papuans came into New Guinea. To make this point clearer: If the Tasmanians, who used the plain one-piece spear, were already in Australia, and the invading Australians brought the same type of spear with them, can we say that it was introduced into the Australian culture from New Guinea, as Dr. Davidson does? To speak of a diffusion from New Guinea into Australia means the introduction of a Papuan or Melanesian trait into Australia since these islanders arrived there, otherwise we will have to say that everything the Australians brought with them, in addition to the Papuo-Melanesian traits, came from New Guinea. Let us take barbs cut in the solid as an example. If the Australians were already using it (as the evidence suggests, contrary to Dr. Davidson's chronology), and then the Papuans also brought it with them to New Guinea, then an apparent continuous distribution would have been established, the true history of which could only be constructed when these factors are borne in mind. Thus it is necessary to separate these two components of Australian culture if we are to solve the problem of whether or not a trait is introduced. If Dr. Davidson accepts the Tasmanian culture as the first one in Australia, then a separate chronology will have to be constructed for those traits brought in by the Australians, and for traits which have been introduced from the Papuans, Melanesians, or any other group, such, for example, as the Malays.

Dr. Davidson's interpretation and conclusions of the relationships of the barbs cut in the solid, the death-spear, and detachable barbs are based upon an incorrect classification of the stone barbs on the death-spears. These stone chips are essentially detachable barbs, and as such must have some relationship with the wooden and bone types. Dr. Davidson does not classify them as such, however, but places their introduction into Australia at an earlier date than barbs cut in the solid, which in turn are placed earlier than the detachable wooden and bone barbs. He says himself that the idea may have originated in Australia, because the attaching of the stone chips by setting them in a groove mounted in gum is a simple step forward. The reason for his reaching this conclusion is that they are not found anywhere else in the Pacific area. With the wooden and bone detachable barbs, however, he has a parallel in New Guinea, and infers, from their continuous distribution, that they must have emanated from the one source. Nor does he mention any relationship between the detachable bone and wooden pegs on the spear-throwers, and the detachable barbs on the spears, a connection which, according to his theory, must exist but which is not discussed. Pegs or barbs, as the case may be, are attached to the spear-throwers and spears in exactly the same way, and are, therefore, intimately associated in origin.

Now how does all this affect the argument? Dr. Davidson bases his statement of the priority of the death-spears in Australia to barbs cut in the solid on a wider distribution of the former. Actually, if we add the distribution of the detachable pegs on spear-throwers and the detachable stone barbs on the death-spears to that of the detachable wooden and bone barbs on the spears, it will be seen that the practice of attaching barbs and pegs is spread throughout the continent, outflanking even the distribution of barbs cut in the solid in south-west Australia. Perhaps the non use of the latter in this area is due to their having been replaced by the detachable type of barb (Dr. Davidson asserts that bone barbs replaced those cut in the solid in Cape York). Thus the evidence suggests that barbs cut in the solid are older than detachable barbs (including death-spears), and that spears with the former barbs were probably brought in by the invading Australians. The existence of numerous purely local types of barbs, which Dr. Davidson also admits, supports this contention.

The idea of attaching pegs to spear-throwers could easily arise from the breaking of the peg cut in the solid, for the latter is bound to weaken with constant use, and from this the idea of detached barbs on spears could also arise. The spear-thrower with the detached peg is found practically throughout Australia, and occurs in north-west Australia and Arnhem Land, where the detached spear barbs (with the exception of the

isolated Kakadu occurrence) are unknown, so that the reverse process, that of detached peg originating from detached barb, could not have happened. It is interesting to note that double-pointed bone toggles (so-called), of exactly the same type as the detached bone spear barbs of Cape York, are found on the kitchen middens along the south coast of New South Wales, and on the south coast of Victoria. Harper[5] found them in a rock-shelter at Port Hacking, near Sydney. In view of the fact that there is a bone-barbed spear in the National Museum of Victoria which is said to be from New South Wales, then we are probably correct in assuming that this type of spear was used wherever the double-pointed bones occur in south-east Australia; they are known to have been used for spear barbs on the Lower Murray River. This adds considerably to the distribution of detachable bone barbs given by Dr. Davidson.

The claim made by Dr. Davidson that the spear-thrower was introduced cannot be substantiated by any other evidence than that of distribution. The fact that it has a wider distribution than the reed-spear would suggest that they are not related in origin. The spear-thrower, as before stated, is used practically throughout Australia, even in south-west Australia for throwing plain single-piece spears, and the implement is therefore of great antiquity here. The diversity of types is important to note in this connection. The spear-throwers used in New Guinea are limited to the Lower Sepik and adjacent coast, and in the method of affixing the spear they are the direct opposite to the Australian type. On the Sepik River type, a peg attached to the middle of the spear fits into a hole at the end of the bamboo shaft of which the spear-thrower is made, whilst in Australia the spear fits on to a peg, at the distal end of the spear-thrower. Furthermore, the distribution is not continuous between Australia and New Guinea. It is well known that artificial aids for throwing spears are used by many primitive peoples throughout the world. The evidence suggests that the spear-thrower was either brought to Australia by the invading Australians, or that it was invented within the continent since they arrived. Certainly, it does not seem to have been introduced from Papua, where it is not used at the present time.

So far as the multi-stingray-spine-pointed spear is concerned, it might be pointed out that there are two women's thrusting weapons from Apaiang, Gilbert Islands, in the Australian Museum collection. This type could quite easily have been introduced, since natives from the various Pacific islands have been employed on the north-east Queensland coast in bêche-de-mer fishing. There are, also, multi-pronged fish-spears (with plain prongs) from the Central Division of Papua in the Australian Museum collection, and two-pronged spears (with barbed prongs and bamboo shaft) from the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. These additional localities, of which Dr. Davidson appears to be unaware, support his contention that the multi-pronged spear was introduced from New Guinea.

In regard to watercraft he reaches, in brief, the following conclusions: "(1) Single and double outriggers appear to have been derived from New Guinea in comparatively recent times; (2) the dug-out was introduced into the Northern Territory by the Malays, also comparatively recently; (3) bark canoes seem to be indigenous to Australia, and probably developed in the order of (*a*) simple bark-canoe, (*b*) wrapped bark-canoe, (*c*) sewn bark-canoe, possibly somewhere on the Queensland coast; (4) the single triangular raft seems to be indigenous to the continent, and may have originated somewhere along the coast of North Australia. The double triangular raft is a direct outgrowth of the single type, and appears to be indigenous to the north-west coast; (5) the ordinary raft, the single log, or both, may have been the craft used by some early invading groups: (6) the craft used by some of the early invaders of the continent may not be represented in any of the existing forms of watercraft; (7) the chronological relationship of various types in certain regions often seem to be indicated by their geographical distribution: (8) the lack of watercraft along the Great Australian Bight may be the result of the

[5] *Proc. Linn. Soc. N.S.W.*, XXIII, pp. 322-332.

peculiar characteristics of the primitive craft of south-eastern Australia (simple bark-canoes and rafts), which tend to be used only on tranquil inland waterways ; (9) the lack of craft on the western coast of Australia seems to be the result of historical forces which have not yet diffused the types of watercraft of the northern coast of this region, but toward which the diffusion of them has been progressing for some time." In respect to the scattered reports of dug-outs occurring in New South Wales, which he discusses, it is probable that the local natives learnt how to make them from the white settlers in some of these localities.

The relationships of the types of water vessels made of bark to the bark-canoes in eastern Australia is a point that might have been discussed with profit by Dr. Davidson. The simple one-piece type is found in the Lake Eyre-Murray River-Darling River area with the same type of canoe, and the container with the folded and tied ends occurs along the east coast with the same type of canoe. An important point is that sewn types of bark containers are used throughout Cape York, thus supporting Dr. Davidson's contention that this type of canoe has been supplanted by the introduced dug-out. Moreover, it is probable that the bark-canoe originated from the use of bark water vessels.

In these articles reference is made to two important aspects of the study of the Australian area. Dr. Davidson supports the view that the Tasmanians were originally inhabitants of the mainland. In reference to the Australians reaching this continent, he says " that in view of the chain of islands between New Guinea, the East Indies, and the Asiatic mainland, this would seem to be the only logical route by which primitive man could have reached Australia. It is over such a route, therefore, that we should expect the dug-out to have been diffused at a previous time, if it were part of the equipment of the invading Australians." Archæological investigations and further study of the primitive peoples in the inland regions of New Guinea may throw light upon the question as to whether the Australians came via that route. There are, however, important cultural relationships between north-west Australia and Malaysia that have not yet been fully examined, so that the question is still as indefinite as ever.

Even though the data that Dr. Davidson has had available is deficient in some respects for the satisfactory solution of the historical sequences he suggests, his application of the geographical distribution theory to Australian material culture has contributed considerably to our knowledge of the extent of the culture of the aborigines when they first came to this continent. His work, too, has the great value of stimulating thought upon the problems he has set out to unravel. The most serious defect in our knowledge is our lack of information on the archæology of Australia and neighbouring areas.

A feature of the articles reviewed above is the valuable series of documented distribution maps of each trait, with diagrams showing types and details of construction of the various traits discussed.

F. D. McCARTHY.

Australia : Linguistics. **Parkhouse.**

Some Words of the Australian Autochthone : An Experiment in Australian Etymology.[1]
By T. A. Parkhouse.

Being suggestive only, my paper is necessarily somewhat discursive. Avoiding theories, it treats of facts which are not always apparent. From the formation of a word and its meaning to him in his language, we may often obtain an insight into the workings of the aborigine's mind.

(1) In the vocabularies of the Adelaide tribe, Wakanuwan, are the words *karndo-worti :* scorpion ; *gadhabarti :* the native bee ; *warra padnitti :* windpipe. If we analyse

[1] This paper is published primarily as an example of what a pioneer of the Northern Territory with an interest in aboriginal linguistics can contribute to our knowledge of that subject.—EDITOR.

these words we find that each one is a combination of two terms which together express the native concept :

karndo/worti : lightning/tail, i.e. scorpion.
ngadha/barti : fire/insect, i.e. the native bee.
warra/padnitti : words/walk, i.e. windpipe.

(2) Let us further investigate the word *warra*. The following passage, quoted from Teichelmann and Schuermann, "*ninna ngattaityangga wawngganinyerla ngatto yurre kaityanna warra*" is translated as : "Had you spoken to me I should have obeyed your advice". To my mind the exquisite charm of the imagery is lost in this rendering.

The autochthone, in the latter part of this sentence, represents words (*warra*) fluttering to a nesting place (*yurre :* ear) like a bird about to lay.[2] The parallelism is continued in the image of the listener pondering over the speech and the bird sitting in incubation, and culminates in the awakening of the resolve to obey, as in the hatchment of a chick.

Here we have a vivid yet simple word picture of the speech which was made. In the use of such word images we see a relation to the symbolic expression of ideas which survives in the hieroglyph and the ideograph. Among ourselves, when we hear a man characterized as an ass, or a spiteful woman as an old cat, we are simply hearing speech which relies for its efficacy on the use of mental images.

(3) The word *karra* means red-gum tree. Let us trace its etymological lineage. By parallelism, the word has come to mean up, high, sky, e.g. *karralika :* high ; *karraintyerlo :* very high ; *karrikarri :* you stand up ; *karrendi*[3] : to stand up ; *karrikarrinya :* flying ; thus *paru/karrikarrinya* means flesh/flying, i.e. a bird. *Karrari/burka* is a proud/person, whilst *kurn karrendi* is to be ashamed. *Karranondi*[4] means motion upwards, again and again, and by parallelism signifies to flourish weapons, to threaten.

Karro means blood, and *karrokarro* means red, and so *karra karro* means the sap of the gum tree. In the above words, the connection may be traced between a red-gum tree, a truculent man and a woman reproached and ashamed. It is further suggested that the tossing of the lower limbs upwards in a gale gave origin to the flourish of weapons, and of the upper branches to the flight of the bird, but in the absence of data in the phraseology, this is only a surmise.

The phrase *kuro karrendi* consists of two words : *kuro*, the crown of the head, and *karrendi*, to fly. At first sight it is difficult to see the relation between this phrase, which means "to be ashamed", and the meaning of the two words of which it is composed. However, the aborigine has seen in the bowed head of a woman swayed by the emotion of shame a parallel with the dipping movement of a bird on the wing. Cognate terms are *kuro/wilta*, head/hard, i.e. bold or impudent ; *kuro/wilta/nendi* to become/bold and *warra/wilta*, words/hard or unchangeable, i.e. correct speech.

(4) Among the Larriki'a of Darwin the word *kwinyiram* means to "lie or to dupe". Because of its bearing upon his psychology, the viewpoint of the autochthone must, even at the risk of prolixity, be made quite clear.

Unlike the words *dindidani*, *dindijik* and *dimam*, which mean prowler, stealer, etc., and which were hurled at an offender whilst within earshot, the word *kwinyiram* is only mildly accusative. It is an opprobrious term, expressing detestation of a lie, but it is not vituperative. As evidence of this strong respect for the truth is the contempt which a low-down white arouses when he casts the phrase "You're a liar" in the teeth of a mate or a blackfellow. Writing of primitive people, Professor Grafton Elliot Smith remarks : "Natural man is thus revealed as a naked, harmless, truthful child, good-

[2] *Kaityandi* is "to lay an egg", to utter words ; but a subtle touch substitutes the suffix *anna* "motion towards", and gives the reading "moves towards the nest to lay".

[3] *Ndi* is the verbal affix.

[4] *Nondi* is a verbal affix, having a reduplicative effect.

natured, honest and considerate ",[5] and the uninitiated autochthone of North Australia is no exception to this general characterization.

The family of Emu, a headman of the Wulna, a tribe with whom the Larriki'a intermarry, was employed about my household, and a relative of his named Lemalagwa became greatly attached to me, calling himself *nowak*, younger brother, and myself *nedla*, elder brother. He took great pains over the task of teaching me his language, as is shown by my attempts to utter the word for " milk ". Father Konrath pronounced it *gumungappa* and *guiumungappa*; Inspector P. Foelsche, *gunnimkappa*, and I had written *kwiumungappa*. My boy, however, told me " that no proper. You say all same blackfellow-*kwi-u-mung-gaop-powei* ", a correction I verified when more familiar with the tongue.

The following extract is given to show that thoroughness of training in philology and thoroughness of training in ethics are characteristic of the Australian aborigine. It was my good fortune in 1888 to learn the autochthone's conception of truth, through the good offices of Lemalagwa. So that his affection, ingenuity and humour can be fully appreciated, and in order to scotch the prevalent idea that the blackfellow is an utter liar, the following incident is related as it was written down at the time.

To test my enunciation, one evening, on the front verandah, within hearing of Lemalagwa, I made question and response with imaginary blackfellows. After a while he came from the back and enquired : " *Aragwa belira* ", " where blackfellow ? " I replied : " *Kwaella* ", " none ! " He then said : " Blackfellow here-me bin hear him ". I then explained what I had done. Much put out, he argued and lectured. I did not, at the time, understand the strength of his feeling on this matter. About ten o'clock the next morning Lemalagwa came to my office, delivering a message. " Mr. Hillson, him wantem you, quickfellow." Thinking someone's cheque questioned, I went to the bank, Lemalagwa accompanying me. To my inquiry concerning the message, Mr. Hillson said he had sent none, and Lemalagwa came forward with a grin on his face, remarking : " No, him no say ; me bin tellem lie, all same you tellem lie longa blackfellow. *Kwaella*."

Telling my story, amid laughter from Hillson at my discomfiture and Lemalagwa in happiness at my enlightenment, I realised that word, gesture, motion and action must have but one meaning. For any infringement, it must be made quite clear that it is a playabout.

An instance of the confidence with which the spoken word was accepted was told me by Mr. Joseph McLellan Johnston, a resident of the Darwin district during the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line in 1872. When he was Post and Telegraph Master at Southport, a mob of blacks attacked and threw spears at a settler in the neighbourhood, who ran indoors. Receiving his gun from his wife, the settler stood in the doorway, calling out : " What matter ? " at the same time motioning them to stop and lay down their spears. Gesturing for one fellow to come alone, a shout came back : " You no killem ? " At his answering " no ", a man, not hesitating for an instant, came to him unarmed, and the trouble was over.

(5) The words *ingga ringga* in the language of the Adelaide tribe imply " vicinity ". For instance, *ngangki parri* is the Onkaparinga River, and at or in its vicinity is expressed by *ngangki parringga*. In Central Australia there is a place called Arlt*unga*. Dr. Porteus refers to Balman*inga*rra, twenty-five miles from the mouth of the Fitzroy, and to the upper and lower Liver*inga* in the north-west, and in the north-east Donald Thomson speaks of " all the relatives at Yintj*ingga* ".

In a paper read at the Brisbane meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science in 1895, I mentioned the existence of a neutral zone between tribes. On one occasion, whilst at the Howley, I came across a native who had been speared through the instep at Burrundi. The man was travelling with a stolen lubra,

[5] G. Elliot Smith, *In the Beginning*, p. 21.

at the rate of five to ten miles a day, in the direction of Darwin. I could not understand why he did not avail himself of a free railway pass, until I discovered that to have done so would have meant passing through forbidden territory. Subsequently the frontier of the Larriki'a tribe was located at Darwin River, forty-three miles twenty-six chains along the railway line, and that of the Awarra (a clan of the Wulwongga) at a branch of the Finnis River fifty-four miles seventy-eight chains along the line.

The origin and dispersion of the Australian autochthone have been the subject of many theories, and these were summed up recently by Professor Stanley D. Porteus in "The Psychology of a Primitive People", p. 244, who, with a slight modification, concurs with Edward John Eyre. Before the acceptance of any theory, however, it seems to me that we require much more data. If such data as I have given for the highway between the Larriki'a and Awarra are obtained from the Protector of Aborigines and others, and these data as received for one place or another are plotted on maps, the maps themselves would be valuable documents.

They would have a further value, for each area would be a base for comparisons, whereas at present no real relationships can be established. How does it happen, for instance, that "*ngadli*", meaning "we two" in Adelaide, reappears near Brisbane as "*ngadlu*", "we"; and that "*ngupul*", "we two" of Wellington on the Murray River, has no vestige in Adelaide, but in that same Queensland tribe is "*ngipula*", "thou female"?

I would like to illustrate my suggestion. Suppose, on the route set out by Eyre, the location of a highway is defined at the Fitzroy, and upon investigation we note that here pronouns are affixed as in Adelaide, and not prefixed as in Darwin; that for the pronouns "thou male" and "thou female" one word is used as in Adelaide, and not two as in the Brisbane-Ipswich district; that the suffix *inga* is used, and used with the same meaning, as in Adelaide. Supposing, by such means, we are able to indicate other points of agreement and divergence, and at other places, the same procedure produces the same results. It would be obvious that we had a means of obtaining definite evidence of linguistic distribution.

Appendix.

In a previous paragraph on word-making by the Adelaide tribe, *karra* is given as "the red-gum tree". At Lake Alexandrina the Wellington tribe, whose language otherwise differs widely, has not only *karrarru*, "the red-gum tree", but *karraam*, "a traditional person who first gave names to various parts of the country", *karruton*, "to be enraged", *karruttumangko*, "a furious person". These words were evidently adopted in the long distant past.

T. A. PARKHOUSE.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES: PROCEEDINGS

Civilized Aborigines and Native Culture.[1] *Summary of the Presidential Address delivered before the Society by Professor A. P. Elkin on 15th October,* 1935.

It is a well recognized fact that the old aboriginal institutions are rapidly giving place to new ways of life, but the extent to which the civilized aborigine still adheres to his own native culture with its beliefs, outlook and customs is not generally realized. In order to estimate the changes that have been brought about in the economic, social and religious life of the Australian native, two typical civilized tribes have been chosen for study—the Wailpi of Flinders Range, South Australia, and the Bard of Dampier Peninsula, North Australia. At first sight, these people appear to have lost almost all of their old culture, but a careful inquiry reveals that despite missionary influence and long years of service with the white man, they

[1] For a full transcript of this lecture, readers are referred to *Oceania*, Vol. VI, No. 2.

still cling to many of their old beliefs and religious symbols. Customs have been modified to meet altered circumstances, but important ritualistic practices remain, particularly those connected with the secret life of the tribe, with totemism, pre-existence, magic, kinship, initiation, marriage, burial and inquest. The tenacity with which even the most civilized natives still cling to initiation and historical rites, establishes their significance as a mechanism for the preservation of social sanctions; they play no small part in fitting the individual for adult responsibilities, and hence might be favourably regarded by civilizing agencies. Even in modified form tribal ceremonies provide an interest in life, they help to guard the participants against despair at the passing of what to us may be crudities, but to them are means of existence. External elements such as the economic, social and legal, tend to fall into disuse much more rapidly than the spiritual or supernatural, expressed in totemic and magical ceremonies, which are never far from the surface. It is the retention and encouragement of these fundamental elements by governmental and missionary bodies for the time being at any rate which will give the native some sense of continuity with the past and enable him gradually to modify and finally to supplant his old outlook on life in accordance with the white man's ideas. The missionary, on account of the nature of his work, has a unique opportunity of making this transitional stage easier for the native and of tiding him over a period of spiritual shock and bewilderment.

Camouflage. *Summary of a lecture dealing with culture contact in Australia, delivered before the Society by Miss Olive Pink on 3rd December,* 1935.

The opinions of the lecturer and her criticisms of the present situation among the full-blood aborigines referred to the whole of Australia, but the verbal and photographic data with which she substantiated her statements were gathered whilst carrying out research among the Aranda and the people whom they call Ilpirra. Part of this data was collected at her own expense and part whilst working under the auspices of the Australian National Research Council. The lecturer emphasized the fact that, although her material was only taken from one area, this did not mean that the situation was worse there than in other similarly situated parts of Australia.

In her opinion, and that of a medical authority whom she quoted, the main cause of native depopulation is the venereal infection of full-blood native women. With some people " race suicide " and " malnutrition " were far more popular " camouflage " explanations. Discussion of the real truth about the extermination of the native race was generally evaded.

Governments do not profess to be idealistic or altruistic, but the Church does loudly proclaim itself to be both. Instead of which it is utterly worldly and a " rail-sitter " on unpopular aspects of the culture-contact clash. No missions to aborigines would be required were Christianity a functioning reality among Europeans in Australia, and the best work it could do for the aborigines would be to make its own white adherents—of all denominations—live up to their professed but ignored code.

The lecturer was forced to the conclusion that a strong " sex-solidarity " among white men interested in this problem induced them to keep silent about its salient features. She further claimed that, as an entirely male régime had failed to afford the aborigines any real benefits, it was time women took an active and prominent part in the administration of native affairs. For instance, medical women were urgently needed in North Australia to treat venereal disease among full-blood native women.

Malicious statements in best-sellers, especially the reiteration of such phrases as " treacherous " and " glaring warriors ", were, the lecturer said, most damaging to the aborigines.

Miss Pink concluded her lecture by describing that supposedly beneficent, altruistic and elevating camouflage called " civilizing them ". Stress was laid on the utter inadequacy of the government rations for old and infirm. An actual ration was exhibited. At the conclusion, many slides were shown illustrating some of the features of the camouflaged situation. The lecturer stated that she herself hoped to publish the lecture as one of a series of papers on culture-contact.

Sorcery and Native Administration in North Australia. *Summary of a lecture delivered before the Society by W. E. H. Stanner, M.A., on 18th February,* 1936.

Like many other primitive peoples, the Australian blacks are " magic-minded ". However, the native ordinances of North Australia and the entire system of native control seem to proceed on the assumption that sorcery is not a complication in administration; or that, if it does exist, then not much notice need be taken of it. If one can show that the aborigines practise sorcery, or even only believe in it, and are led on by these beliefs to criminal acts, or to conduct which, in one way or another, embarrasses the administration, one has done a useful service.

One finds a wide and typical range of magical belief and practice in North Australia. This paper is concerned, however, with sorcery, and not with magical practices in general. The first type of North Australian sorcery to be distinguished is sorcery which can be used by any person, and the secrets of which are known to everyone. The second type is sorcery the secrets of which are known to a few individuals only, usually the medicine men of the tribe. A simple illustration of the first type is known to many tribes as *palangurk*. The most usual method of *palangurk* is to obtain by some trick a small piece of an enemy's loin cloth, or hair, or nail parings, or fæces, or a piece of food which he has partly eaten: anything, in fact, which has been intimately associated with him. These fragments are hoarded, and then one day are burnt in a small fire, or buried in a hole in a tree, or inside an ant-bed, or placed in a bamboo cylinder and thrust into the mud below the tide level in a creek or estuary. This is supposed to result in the sickness, the slow weakening, and finally the death of the victim. Natives live in the constant fear of this sorcery.

To my knowledge it has led to tribal fights which have made it necessary for the administration to take action, apparently without suspecting the underlying cause, and seeing only the external fact of the fight.

The classic illustration of the second type is the well-known " kidney fat stealing ", or as one tribe calls it, *mipurama*. The practitioner of *mipurama* is the " devil-doctor " par excellence. He has to be distinguished from the *wananggal*, the healer, or medicine-man proper, or as the natives call him in pidgin, the " doctor-blackfellow ". Unfortunately, this distinction is not generally realized by those who have much to do with North Australian natives. The *wananggal* doctor-blackfellow is often a person of superior intelligence and personality. His social rôle is absolutely different from that of the *mipurama*, and although it is possible that one man may combine the two rôles, I have never heard of an actual case.

The general form which the belief takes is that the *mipurama* is an actual blackfellow with extraordinary magical powers. They give him the magical ability to sneak up on people without being seen, strike them unconscious, open their bodies, extract their intestinal fat, sew the wound up with magical twine, make all traces of the wound disappear, bring his victim once again to consciousness, stand off at a distance and mock the doomed person in a fiendish way, and then send him back to camp. Before the person can reach the camp the *mipurama* sends a bird which is named *tjiripit* to fly against the victim's mouth, and thus seal it. The consequence is that when the victim tries to say what has happened to him, or to warn his camp mates, he finds he cannot. An immediate physical decline sets in, and before long the native dies.

Deaths which occur from such widely different conditions as malaria, peritonitis, cancer and tuberculosis need give no necessary outward symptoms which would be intelligible to these primitive natives. All could be attributed to *mipurama* sorcery, and no doubt have been.

A knowledge of the part sorcery plays in aboriginal life would thus seem to be necessary to the administration which is charged with aboriginal welfare. One admits readily that it is a task of exceptional difficulty to know just what to do about native sorcery, and of course sorcery is only one of the factors which cause native disturbances. One is entitled to doubt, however, if wisdom consists in ignoring it. The knowledge that it can lead to sickness, even to death, or to social frictions which end in stand-up fights on a large scale should be of concern to the administration. Unless we take note of the motives and beliefs that prompt aborigines to transgress our legal code, and deliberately to risk the punishment which they *know* will come to them ; unless we are careful to examine every fact in the social and psychological background of native crime, we cannot prevent the trials of native offenders from being only crudely efficient, entirely lacking in insight, guilty of no little harshness, and a great deal of entirely misplaced leniency.

REVIEWS

More Recollections. *By Mary Gilmore. Sydney : Angus and Robertson,* 1935. 268 *pp. Price* 6s. (*in Australia*).

In this latest work of her pen, Mary Gilmore takes her readers into wide areas of Victoria and New South Wales, and even to far Argentine and Paraguay. The customs of the natives inhabiting these latter regions are compared with those of our own aborigines. She has even touched on North America for the purpose of showing how the culture of its pioneers, to a slight but beneficial extent, affected that of our pioneers.

Some of her chapters deal intimately with the interesting behaviour of our peculiar fauna. Indeed, in these chapters she rises to the heights of the inimitable Thoreau in his " Walden ".

Her pictures of the struggles and hardships of the smaller settlers bring vividly before us life in the Australian bush before it knew railways, telephones, telegraphs, or even good roads. Her descriptions, unfortunately only too true, of the injustices suffered by those people make unpalatable reading. However, one of the objects of history should be to show the errors of the past, in order that we may avoid them in the future. To these errors and other bitter heritages of the past may be traced that class consciousness which, in spite of courts having been established for the protection of individuals, has too often prevented employers and employees from approaching debatable questions in that conciliatory spirit which alone can lead to industrial peace.

Her chapters dealing with aboriginal surgery and medicine make a most interesting contribution to Australian anthropology whilst others will be of use to future writers of our social history.

The saddest chapters are those dealing with the treatment meted out to the unfortunate race whom we dispossessed of home and country. I would refer those who express incredulity about such occurrences to the opposition which Attorney-General Plunkett met when he determined to bring the perpetrators of the Myall Creek (N.S.W.) massacres to justice. When he finally placed them on their trial, two juries on the clearest possible evidence failed to agree, and a third trial was necessary before justice was done. Rufus Creek, Eccleston, Belbourie and other places were scenes of other wholesale murders, but the perpetrators of those and other murders were not even questioned. Plunkett had passed out of office.

Those awful methods have long ceased in the parts of Australia described, but the accounts of those atrocities may help to arouse public opinion to demand a more just and more humane policy throughout Australia towards the survivors of our native race.

The book is brightened by flashes of humour, and although it was never proved that there was a Mrs. 'Arris, we know now that there was a Mr.

Brumby, notwithstanding the story about a certain supreme court judge at Tamworth Circuit Court.

The book should receive a warm welcome from many, not only in Australia, but abroad.

W. J. ENRIGHT.

We Europeans: A Survey of Racial Problems. *By J. S. Huxley and A. C. Haddon. Jonathan Cape, London,* 1935. 299 *pp. Price* 11*s.* 6*d.* (*in Australia*).

The purpose of this book is to bring together the chief scientific facts now available on the subject of "race" in man—in other words, the genetic differences between human groups—and to present them in the light of established scientific principles. Readers will please note the emphasis laid upon the word "scientific" in the above excerpt from the preface of the work under review. Scientific facts alone are the bases of absolute knowledge, and as such are only established after an immense amount of research and inquiry by impartial investigators working along strictly logical lines. Both Dr. Haddon and Professor Huxley are men of this type, and their presentation of the facts known about race is a sober record of patient inquiry which reveals how ludicrous and asinine are the attempts of certain present-day leaders in Europe to use "racial purity" as a political rallying cry.

The association of "race" in the sense of descent from a common stock with the growth of "group consciousness" is shown to be quite wrong. Historically, all the great modern nations are known to be the resultants of amalgamations of many tribes and of many waves of immigration. Of the factors which have contributed to the formation of national sentiment, a common language is of very great importance, strengthened by belief in a fictitious "blood-tie". However, the point which must be stressed is that "race" is a *biological* term, and racial differences and racial affinities are *biological* contrasts and resemblances. Again, in discussing racial types, the social and cultural elements of the people concerned have no value as determinants.

In Chapter 2 we have traced for us the history of physical anthropology and the evolution of *homo sapiens*. The absurdities connected with the "Nordic theory" and the mythical "Aryan race" are fully exposed. The principles of heredity as applied to man; the biological bases of ethnic classification and some of the fallacies and pitfalls which attend the pseudo-scientific investigation of racial problems are discussed sanely and simply by these two distinguished authors. The main ethnic groups of Europe and the ethnic constituents of each country of Europe are then outlined and, finally, Mr. Carr-Saunders analyses the composition of European populations which have settled overseas.

The whole book is *par excellence* the best introduction to the study of human "racial" problems yet produced. It is written in clear simple English by two men who are obviously masters in the art of displaying their scientific wares to an eager public.

One last quotation: "Racialism is a myth, and a dangerous myth at that. It is a cloak for selfish economic aims ... And it is not scientifically grounded. The essence of science is the appeal to fact."

F. L. S. BELL.

Südsee—Travels in the South Seas. *By Hugo Adolf Bernatzik. London: Constable,* 1935. 158 *pp. With* 103 *plates. Price* 12*s.* (*in Australia*).

A glance through this attractively bound volume reveals its most striking feature—the illustrations. Skill with the camera is nowadays an indispensable part of the equipment of the anthropologist, and here it has been applied with keen artistic insight. The photographs are "action" studies, and are vivid, unposed portrayals of native life in the Solomon Islands, New Guinea and Bali. The author does not linger long in one spot, but passes rapidly from one topic to another, covering a great variety of subjects for so short a book. The mythical origin of Owa Raha, Solomon Islands, is told, and is followed by an account of earthquakes, the native world of ancestors and spirits, divination, the maiden voyage of a war canoe, turtle hunting and searches for a lost culture on Choiseul. The life of the planter and trader in the tropics is seen to be far from idyllic, and an amusing chapter on Edie Creek, New Guinea, shows how the gold-diggers live and die.

There are parts of the huge island of New Guinea where the white man has still to tread warily, as was proved by a visit to the newly-discovered inhabitants of the great plateaux of the central range. The sight of fortified villages and hundreds of curious camp followers, and the ever present danger of ambush kept the white intruders continually on the alert. The perils of crossing swollen mountain torrents and pushing through the steamy rain-drenched jungle made the author yearn for the coast and the more familiar and less hazardous perils of riding a stormy sea in a native canoe. He made the voyage from Mailu to Port Moresby in a *lakatoi*, or native trading vessel, and recounts with admiration the extraordinary skill, courage and keenness of the dark-skinned navigators. The ingenuity of the tree-dwellers, encountered upon a journey amongst the Papuans and pigmy people of the interior, next rouses his wonder.

A Dutch boat takes the author to the coast of Bali, where he finds a grotesque mixture of cultures—native and European. But further inland, away from the bustle of civilization, he is enchanted by the old villages, by the cock and cricket fights, and most of all by the peculiarly intriguing music and dancing. This is enacted in a trance-like state, and exercises on the onlooker a curious mesmerism which dulls his senses and saps his vitality. The author, alarmed at the strength of the spell, was forced to tear himself away in order to retain his balance. After the climax of Bali, and content with the beauty culled from his travels, he puts an end to his wanderings and to his book.

ELSIE BRAMELL.

Initiation Among the Pitjandjara Natives of the Mann and Tomkinson Ranges in South Australia. *By Norman B. Tindale. Oceania,* VI, 1935, 199-224.

A severe beating at the hands of his female relatives serves as a warning to the Pitjandjara youth that he will soon be compelled to shun their presence and hang humbly on the outskirts of the camp, until by means of arduous tests he has proved his manhood. After a night of wailing, the women and children depart from the camp to forage for food. The stage is left clear for the elders to direct the various parts of the ceremonial leading up to the ritual of circumcision, which takes place at night. The day and early evening are spent in the execution of traditional dances round the prone initiates, and in the singing of songs which recount the wanderings of totemic ancestors. Thereafter, the youth's status in the horde depends on his capacity for absorbing tribal lore and on bodily discipline which will enable him to execute dances and endure hardships.

E.B.

Semi-Moieties in North-Western Queensland. *By Lauriston Sharp. Oceania,* VI, 1935, 158-174.

With the aid of charts, the author presents a concise account of the social structure of the tribes inhabiting the southern shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The kinship system and the marriage laws are explained, and the correlation between totemic relationships and social groupings serves to remind one of the necessity for studying a culture as an integrated whole.

E.B.

The Reaction of the Maori to the Impact of Civilization. *By the Right Reverend the Bishop of Waiapu, Herbert W. Williams. Journ. Polyn. Soc., XLIV,* 1935, 216-243.

A survey of all the important changes that have come about in the material, social and religious spheres of Maori life prepares the reader for the author's conclusions. He says that the spirit of enterprise which the Maori showed on first contact with an invading race rapidly gave way, after the wars of the sixties, to disillusionment and diffidence. This phase was long in giving place to the present somewhat over-developed spirit of race consciousness, which is inclined to be an embarrassment to the Maori in his attempt to attain equality with the white man. A less restricted legislation would give him freedom to put forth his full powers towards self-realization.

E.B.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS

Aboriginal Axe Factory.

Sir,—Whilst engaged in a geological reconnaissance of the Maitland district some time ago, Dr. G. D. Osborne, of the Department of Geology, discovered a place used for the fashioning of stone axes. It is in the bed of the Greenwattle Creek, on Portion 58, Parish of Butterwick, County of Northumberland.

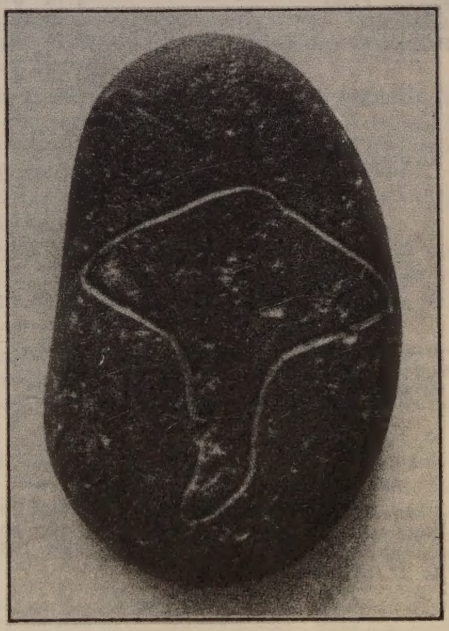
The creek, a tributary of the Paterson River, flows over beds of Lower Marine sandstones which are suitable grinding material. Within an area of less than two hundred square yards we counted one hundred and sixty places where axes had been ground, and the spots must have been used for that purpose over a long period of time, as the rock around some spots that had been so used was now worn down to the level reached in the grinding when it had been abandoned for another.

On the north side of the Woodville-Paterson road, near the bridge over the Paterson River between Tocal and Paterson, he found another similar but smaller site. Apart from these two the one on Leconfield Creek, near Greta, close to the Greta-Dalwood road, is the only other place of a like kind I have seen in this district.

West Maitland. W. J. ENRIGHT.

A Carved Stone.

Sir,—The accompanying illustration represents a water-worn pebble presented to the Australian Museum in February, 1935, by Mr. K. E. Jones. It is 3⅜ inches long, 2½ inches wide, and ½ inch thick. It was picked out of a load of pebbles intended for use in concrete at Holdsworthy, near Liverpool, nineteen miles from Sydney. This



pebble bears on one side a carving resembling a species of ray fish. The impression is one-sixteenth

of an inch wide, and is approximately three-sixty-fourths of an inch deep. The edges of the groove are very sharp. The important point is that the carved figure is aboriginal in character, for it strongly resembles the rock-carvings so numerous in the Sydney district on the large, exposed and flat masses of sandstone. Even if it were cut with a steel tool, the fact must be borne in mind that the aborigines lived between Sydney and the Blue Mountains for thirty or forty years after the coming of the whites. Whether it represents a hunting charm, a totem, or some other aspect of the ritual life of the natives responsible for it, it is not possible to state. It is the only specimen of its kind known to me.

Dept. of Anthropology, Australian Museum. F. D. McCARTHY.

Library Notes.

Three new volumes have been added to our shelves by Mrs. Elizabeth Brettle, namely "Desert Saga", by William Hatfield, Dr. Basedow's "Knights of the Boomerang", and "The Children of the Sun", by W. J. Perry—all books which should prove popular amongst our members. "Sun Lore of All Ages", by W. T. Olcott, omitted from our last list, was also received from the same donor.

New numbers of the journals listed in our last issue have come to hand, and "More Recollections", by Mary Gilmore, was received from Angus and Robertson for review.

OUR SOCIETY: FINANCIAL POSITION, 1935

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

FOR YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1935.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Postages	10	2	2	By Balance Brought Down	31	9	10
,, Stationery	1	13	6	,, Subscriptions	53	0	0
,, Printing	40	12	10	,, Subscriptions in Advance	6	0	0
,, Operator's Fees	7	11	6	,, Donations	2	2	6
,, Electric Light	2	15	0	,, Magazine Sales	3	4	6
,, Attendant	8	5	0	,, Bank Interest	0	12	9
,, Balance Carried Down	25	14	8	,, Exchange	0	5	1
	£96	14	8		£96	14	8

Audited and found correct.
C. S. HAWTHORNE, Auditor.

R. H. GODDARD, Hon. Treasurer.

BALANCE SHEET.

AS AT SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1935.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions Paid in Advance	7	0	0	Cash at Commonwealth Savings Bank	29	13	8
Balance of Income and Expenditure Account	25	14	8	Petty Cash	3	0	8
				Subscriptions Short Paid	0	0	4
	£32	14	8		£32	14	8

I have examined the books and vouchers of the Anthropological Society of New South Wales, and I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge and belief the above Balance Sheet correctly states the position of the Society as at September 30th, 1935.

R. H. GODDARD, Hon. Treasurer.

C. S. HAWTHORNE, Auditor.

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